Tells the Facts and Names the Names

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Liberals Bail Out the IMF

Just a few months ago, liberals and labor scored one of their biggest triumphs of the Clinton years when Congress voted against the "fast track" bill, which would have increased the president's ability to negotiate "free trade" agreements without detailed examination on Capitol Hill. Bolstered by that victory, critics of corporate rule were convinced that the Clinton administration's plan to increase the US contribution to that collection agency for the big banks, the International Monetary Fund, was dead in the water. It seemed that the forces of darkness, if not on the run, had at least been temporarily checked.

That was then. Today, it seems likely that Congress will approve a bill sponsored by Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa giving the IMF $18 billion in fresh funds from the US. It was not, as some of our readers might imagine, Newt Gingrich, Trent Lott and other Republican leaders who turned the tide in favor of the IMF. That distinction lies with organized labor, "progressive" intellectuals like Bob Borosage and Robert Reich, and liberal Democrats such as Richard Gephardt, David Bonior and Maxine Waters. Indeed, every Democrat on the House Banking Committee voted for the Leach bill. The only dissent came from eight right-wing Republicans and Rep. Bernie Sanders of Vermont.

Unlike the case with fast track, when President Clinton helped doom the corporate cause with an ill-judged lobbying campaign, the administration has pressed hard and effectively for the IMF. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin was dispatched to terrify lawmakers with doomsday scenarios of a global economic crisis if Congress doesn't cough up the $18 billion. Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan was also deployed. With a single phone call, he persuaded Rep. John Kasich, a key Republican who sometimes opposes corporate welfare, to tone down his criticism of the IMF. Still, the IMF replenishment faced seemingly insurmountable obstacles.

And then the tide began to turn. Perhaps the largest share of the blame for the collapse of anti-IMF forces lies with organized labor (with the notable exception of the United Auto Workers). Earlier this year, the AFL-CIO issued a pathetic statement saying that it would support members of Congress who tried to condition additional funding to the IMF on protection for workers' rights and the environment. This, despite the fact that such provisions—as seen in the fabled "side agreements" attached to NAFTA—invariably prove toothless unless there are strict enforcement mechanisms.

Many Democrats took the AFL-CIO's statement as a signal that they could vote for IMF expansion without paying a political price. Since Democrats on the Banking Committee depend on Wall Street money for their campaigns they took the AFL's posture as a perfect opportunity to jump ship. Why did the labor federation cave on the IMF in the first place? A knowledgeable congressional staffer tells us the AFL-CIO didn't want to oppose President Clinton on the issue because it feared he would retaliate by refusing to help labor on issues of more immediate importance (such as the uses of union dues).

Many liberal Democrats ran up the white flag of surrender even before the AFL-CIO made clear it would stay on the sidelines. Reps. Barney Frank and Joe Kennedy of Massachusetts indicated at a very early date that they would support the Leach bill. In December, Gephardt—who is furiously gearing up his presidential run and has nightmares about being labeled as an "isolationist" by the New York Times editorial board—wrote Robert Rubin to

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Our Little Secret

From Bad...

President-elect Bill Clinton made the following pronouncement after learning that George Bush had given Christmas Eve pardons to Cappy Weinberger and the other "non profit" (White House counsel Boyden Gray's phrase) criminals of the Iran/contra scandal: "I am concerned about any action which sends a signal that if you work for the government, you are above the law, or that not telling the truth to Congress under oath is somehow less serious than not telling the truth to some other body under oath."

In the light of that bold statement, consider Clinton's behavior over a recent bill. It was almost impossible to find a word about it in the public prints, but on March 9, by a 93 to 1 vote, the US Senate passed a bill encouraging CIA employees to report illegal activities and Agency misconduct to Congress, even if it meant supplying classified information. Furthermore, those individuals would be considered whistle-blowers, protected against retaliation by the Agency.

This bill was sparked into life by the 1995 case of State Department official Richard Nuccio, who passed on to then-Rep Robert Torricelli the identity of a CIA operative who was involved in the murder of Jennifer Harbury's husband Efraim Bamaca. After that disclosure, the CIA went after Nuccio and yanked his security clearance. Hence the Senate's bill. But, guess what, the Clinton administration has vowed to veto the senate bill, claiming that it would foster illegal leaks of classified information. Despite this threat it looks as if the legislation will clear the House by a veto-proof margin.

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...To Worse

More ill-reported deeds from Team Clinton. After the slaughter of East Timorean demonstrators in Dili in 1991, the US Congress passed a measure prohibiting the US from training the Indonesian military under the International Military Education and Training Program. But it turns out, unsurprisingly, that the Clinton administration has subverted the law by continuing the training of Indonesian forces through the Joint Combined Exchange Training Program. Among those receiving instruction has been the Indonesian special forces unit known as KOPASSUS, which Lynn Fredriksson of the East Timor Action Network tells us has been involved in the torture and murder of dissidents in East Timor and Indonesia.

Kurt Campbell, deputy assistant secretary of defense, rationalized the training in these muffled tones: "They were trained on issues such as the military judicial system — and by that we mean appropriate punishment, issues in terms of domestic behavior and how to behave in a very difficult civil disturbance situation. We also look at the role of a military in a democracy...We have been pleased with our ability to develop programs which have in mind some of the concerns that countries like Indonesia have."

Kathleen and Shelia

On every lip are the possible similarities in the harassments proclaimed by Kathleen Willey and Anita Hill. Leaders of the women's movement are being chivvied for a double-standard in their onslaught on Clarence Thomas and their more forgiving posture towards Bill Clinton. On this matter of the double-standard Bob Packwood, ousted from Congress for groping, must be permitting himself a wry smile or two.

But there's another, even closer similarity: between Kathleen Willey and Shelia Lawrence, the latter of whom is now suing Arianna Huffington for $25 million for alleging she had an affair with her Commander in Chief. Whatever the truth of that allegation, Shelia did end up serving at the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, which is the principle international commission on environmental policy (and which is devoutly believed by the LaRouchies to be the beating heart of darkness, aka the Trilerateral Conspiracy).

Shelia got that job in 1993, because she chafed at the provincial torpor of Berne, where her husband Larry was serving as US ambassador, Shelia yearned for brighter lights and madder music. The Clinton administration responded by getting her the gig at the IUCN, which is headquartered in Switzerland's answer to New Orleans, Geneva.

Shelia rejoiced in her posting, though she still found time to commute regularly to the Netherlands, whither her horses had been shipped from San Diego at government expense. (A few weeks ago we erroneously reported the quadrupeds had gone to Switzerland, Not so. Shelia preferred the Netherlands for her equine pursuits, deeming the weather more clement for year-round riding.)

Fast forward now to 1995, when the Clinton administration found another applicant yearning to battle in nature's cause at the IUCN in Geneva. Who was this? None other than Kathleen Willey. Here at CounterPunch we have the memo from a White House staffer to Bill Clinton reporting Willey's eagerness to fill a vacancy at the IUCN. Some ember of memory clearly glowed in the brain of the President. In the memo's margin, in his handwriting appear the words, "Is this what Shelia Lawrence did? Can we do this for her?"

Back now to Shelia. Finding Calvinist Geneva a shade constricting, she embarked on a couple of government missions to more bracing climes. For the IUCN she sped as head of delegation to Buenos Aires and then, in 1984 transferred to the International Whaling Commission, attending its deliberations in Puerto Vallarta, Mexico, which Shelia's uncertain grasp of cetacean politics left Eleanor Constable, assistant secretary of state, vowing that either the former surfer would

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have to quit or she, Eleanor, would resign.

Now mark the sequel. Failing to get the IUCN job she craved, Kathleen Willey found government employment as the US delegate to the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen. This was in 1995. At the end of that year she was whisked off as a US rep at the Convention on Biological Diversity in Indonesia, writing to her Commander in Chief in December 1995 in the wake of the trip, "I spent one day in a rain forest followed by a day diving the coral reef on the island of Sulawese, experiences which I will never, ever forget." Bill wrote back a few days later, "The Convention on Biological Diversity must have been fascinating. Thanks, too, for your continued desire to serve the administration."

And who would have been the government official procuring these assignments for Shelia and Kathleen? None other than Katie McGinty, who once had a pleasant jaunt herself to the Earth Summit in Rio in 1990, in the company of Al Gore, whose environmental aide she later became and still remains. Kathleen's husband Ed was a political friend of Gore's, as was the man who attempted to restrain Kathleen's impulses to tell all, Nate Landow. For background on this murky fellow, see our story in this issue.

ERIC AND THE NOW PEOPLE

Eric Alterman, the point guard for Team Nation, popped up on MSNBC during l'affaire Willey to chastise feminists who were contemplating a rebuke of Clinton: "It was just a clumsy pass, a bad pass. The president didn't send black helicopters after her. You NOW people have totally criminalized sex. This is why we have no left. Here is NOW saying that the President's sexual behavior is more important than health care for little children. People on the left refuse to deal with the fact that we've got the president. You either support him or you end up with Bob Dole."

JOHN VOGT'S BINGE

The effect of alcohol on health care execs is made clear in the transcript of a speech made by an official from Kaiser Permanente to a group of HMO managers. The speech was revealed in a lawsuit filed by the family of a Texas man who died, relatives say, because of Kaiser's unrelenting efforts to cut costs at the expense of quality care. Kaiser settled the case last December for $5.3 million.

According to Corporate Crime Reporter, Dr. John Vogt, Kaiser's director of resource management, told colleagues that "the first thing that ever comes out of a Kaiser CEO now is 'what's the bottom line.' I'm trained to do that now almost automatically." Before detailing some especially grisly cost-cutting schemes, Vogt bashfully confessed: "I'm a light Chardonnay drinker. But the stuff that you're going to see...was generated in June on a Friday afternoon when Jim and I—I don't know how many Wild Turkeys on the rocks I had, and he's Irish, so he had Irish whiskey, and we're flying over LA trying to land—a two hour, fifty minute flight is now going to be 7 or 8 hours and we're going to get in at one o'clock in the morning."

"No one doubts that Dick Armey—one of the nastiest members of Congress—is capable of blackmail."

During his drinking binge, Vogt hit on a plan to keep Kaiser members out of hospitals, thereby saving the company's precious cash reserves: "Our Urgent Care Doctor (UCC), you know—we're having patients come in and see them and they would look at them and say 'You need to be in the hospital.' And the adult physician on call would come in and say 'You don't need to be in the hospital.' The member says, 'Whoa, I'm not feeling well. I think I'd rather pay attention to the UCC doctor.' We basically said to the UCC doctors, 'If you value your job, you won't say anything about hospitalization. All you say is, 'I think you need further evaluation and Dr. Schmoe is going to come in and talk to you'."

Vogt also advised his HMO colleagues that if their members slipped by Dr. Schmoe and managed to make it to a hospital, they should be evicted as quickly as possible.

However, Vogt warned that the word "discharge" should never be used. "There is no such thing as discharge," he said. "We should get rid of the word. You're transitioning the patient into another health care environment."

PAXON & HUME (CONT.)

Mystery still surrounds the strange case of Rep. Bill Paxon's sudden retirement from Congress, moments after he'd begun his bid to challenge Rep. Dick Armey for the post of House majority leader. As we reported in our last issue, much of the beltway press corps has been busy the last few weeks chasing a story that Paxon desisted from his bid because Armey was threatening to spread a story that Paxon was gay. According to the rumors, Paxon was involved with Sandy Hume, a reporter for The Hill magazine. Hume committed suicide the day before Paxon retired.

People who knew Hume well tell us they're convinced there's no truth to the rumors of a relationship with Paxon. They say Hume had been despondent because of a drinking problem and in fact had been arrested for driving under the influence the night before he killed himself. (Admittedly, it's very unusual for alcoholics to do themselves in purely for drinking problems.)

But why did Paxon quit? His stated reason—that he wanted to spend more time with his family—seems entirely implausible, especially as Paxon had been feverishly promoting his candidacy for the majority leader's post up until the moment he stepped down. No one doubts that Armey—one of the nastiest members of Congress—is capable of blackmail, but his role in the affair is still unclear. We're told Gannett has prepared a story on the case but has been sitting on it.

MIRROR VICTORY

One lethal piece of long-term UPS meanness was the corporation's refusal to lay out the $50 or so per truck needed to fit them with rear cross-view mirrors. Though this little bit of tight-fistedness cost a number of lives, UPS lobbyists fought hard against laws mandating the mirrors. But the final item in the contract negotiated by the Teamsters last year was installation of adequate rear view devices and UPS agreed to fit out its fleet within thirty months. And now in the state of Washington, on March 3, Jackie and Dee Norton, who lost their three-year old grandson CJ to a diaper truck have won a magnificent battle to push through a state law requiring all delivery trucks to be fitted with rear cross view mirrors. Mrs. Jones tells us the next step is action by the National Transportation Safety Board. Well done, Dee and Jackie! ■

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(IMF, continued from page 1)

say that he favored IMF expansion and would work for the cause. Jesse Jackson Jr. accompanied Leach on a junket to Asia last fall and came back pronouncing himself to be a believer in free trade.

What really killed the anti-IMF forces was the defection of Bonior—a leader of the fight against NAFTA and fast-track—and to a lesser extent Maxine Waters. "Bonior looked around and saw everyone cozying up to the administration", the congressional staffer says. "Since there was no crowd that he could leap out in front of, he decided that he better get in line too."

Meanwhile, liberal intellectuals like Borosage—who sees his mission in life as presenting to the world the official line "progressives" should espouse on any given subject—were criticizing the IMF while at the same time offering up assorted rationalizations for sell-out. In January, Borosage and William Greider put out a joint statement titled "The Global Crisis: A Progressive Response". The two made no mention of blocking more money for the fund—the position of a coalition led by Public Citizen and other groups—and suggested that criticism of the fund was a "conservative" position. Instead, Borosage and Greider proposed that Congress "insure that future funding for the IMF does not simply make things worse" by making the fund "focus on reviving real economies of production". Congress should also require that the speculators and bankers who would benefit from replenishment of the fund "bear some of the cost of their own folly". In healthy contrast to this spineless cop-out, George Schultz and Walter Wriston, the former head of Citibank, opposed any new money for the IMF and said that the speculators should bear all the costs of their follies.

In a March 2 article in The Nation, Borosage offered up the same mush in a call to delay a vote on the IMF expansion. "Time is needed to educate Congress and the public about a serious reform agenda", wrote Borosage, known around The Nation's offices as "Boring Sausage" because of his prose style. "Washington should insist that the IMF makes its assistance conditional on backing labor rights and environmental protections...If the vote is delayed, the fund's follies can be exposed to the light of democratic debate."

Former labor secretary Robert Reich offered more explicit support for the forces of darkness. Along with 80 corporate executives and members of the permanent government such as Henry Kissinger, Jimmy Carter and Paul Volcker, he signed a pro-IMF ad in the New York Times. Reich explained in a note to Walker Todd, a former official at the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland who opposes the IMF expansion, that he signed because "I felt that we need to maintain a strong coalition in favor of open markets and global institutions, while at the same time investing in our people." (See sidebar.)

Thus it was that "progressives" like Borosage did their utmost to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. It's possible that Congress will approve the Leach bill (or a similar version) by early April. Liberal Democrats backing the bill claim that it will protect worker rights through a clause that says the US will work to "ensure that IMF policies and procedures endeavor to support internationally recognized worker rights" and consider "labor market policy in the context of achieving macroeconomic stability and providing the foundation for sustainable growth."

None of this flim-flam is enforceable or binding. Indeed, since IMF policies are intended to provoke recession it's hard to see what terms like "macroeconomic stability" and "sustainable growth" can mean in this context. Robert Naiman of Public Citizen says the Leach bill "will have no effect on the ability of workers to exercise their fundamental rights.

What's truly bizarre is that the best hope for anti-IMFers now takes the form of Rep. Chris Smith, a leader of Congressional anti-abortion forces. While the "dog-shit liberal faction"—as one observer puts it—flees at the first sight of combat, Smith is utterly fearless in promoting his cause. He's trying to attach an amendment to the IMF replenishment bill that would deny federal funding for family planning groups that lobby foreign governments to change their abortion laws. Since Clinton says he will veto such a provision, the Smith amendment could derail the whole IMF bill. One side or the other might blink. Our bet is that the first to blink won't be Smith. ■

Memo to Reich: What about the People?

Conservatives rather than liberals have been the toughest critics of handing over another $18 billion to the IMF. Consider part of a message that Walker Todd—a Republican populist—sent to Robert Reich in response to the latter's signature on the New York Times ad's advocacy of more money for the fund:

"The IMF has become nothing more than a debt collector for the international banks. Keynes would be the first to denounce what his own creation has become. It's not enough to 'reform' the IMF or even to hope that it would work better if only 'good men and women' were running it—it now has an entrenched bureaucracy that is good at politics, Renaissance Florence-style. It would consume and spit out good men like yourself even if you were running it.

"A reasonable political agenda that might enable a Keynes to spread the free trade gospel to the Heartland today would include HONEST advocates (met any in Washington, Boston, or New York lately?) taking up these complaints in reverse order: Make it clear that, by God, the losers WILL be compensated even if the US Marines have to take over the New York Fed; establish and enforce minimum admission standards for any new nation seeking partnership in a US-led free trade regime (NAFTA would have to be renegotiated for this); make it clear that the slightest whiff of slave, coerced, prison, or child-labor produced goods will get one promptly thrown out of the regime.

"If you tried honestly to analyze the costs [of free trade] to Heartlanders and had to explain them yourself, instead of sticking to the standard litany of 'There are no costs to you, only benefits, and even if there are costs, we're sure that somebody (admittedly, probably not the Northeastern Establishment personally) will compensate you adequately for them,' then maybe you'd see why some of us are appropriately skeptical of the ad that you and 80 corporate CEOs signed.

"In the great globalist economy, why should Heartlanders don the military uniform or tax themselves to defend investments abroad of corporations that consider themselves 'globalist'—not tied to, say, the USA? Does that remind you of the old royalist privileges in any way, believing that an Establishment gets to dispose of the lives and fortunes of the people for the Establishment's principal benefit, regardless of the cost to the people?"

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Meet Nathan Landow (A Real Sleazeball)

Bobbing and weaving its way through the scandals wreathing the White House has been the name of Nathan Landow, and if one wanted a striking portrait of a bankroller of the New Democrats and a big-time player in Babylon, Landow certainly meets the bill. He's a paradigm of everything that's sleazy about the Democratic Party in America at the turn of the millennium. His friend and fellow-fund raiser, Duane Garrett, has described themselves as being "sort of like the noble class was in seventeenth-century France, the sort of people who served Richelieu or Louis XIV." For further explication CounterPunch warmly recommends the works of Alexandre Dumas and Stanley Weyman.

Landow hit the front pages recently when Kathleen Willey identified him as the man who pressured her to keep her mouth shut about her famous encounter with Bill Clinton in the White House pantry on November 28, 1993. Two weeks after Willey had been subpoenaed in the Paula Jones case, Landow chartered a plane to fly her from Richmond, Virginia, to his estate on Maryland's eastern shore. When Willey arrived at Landow's place she says he told her 'Don't say anything' and that if she said nothing happened in the White House pantry, no one could contradict her. Willey also told Kenneth Starr's grand jury in Washington that Landow offered to fly her to New York for an all-expenses paid Christmas shopping spree.

Behind this recent incarnation as fix-it man, lies a long and unalluring career. Based in Bethesda, Maryland, Landow is a developer of large apartment complexes, hotels and federal office buildings. He first shows up on the national political radar screen in 1976 when he raised millions for Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign. In consequence Landow was considered to be a shoo-in for a posting as US ambassador to the Netherlands.. Then reports surfaced of hotel and casino construction deals between Landow and members of the Meyer Lansky and Gambino family crime syndicates. Landow withdrew his name from consideration, and shunned the political spotlight for a decade.

In 1988 Landow re-emerged as the man behind IMPAC, a political action committee put together by Democratic developers who derived much of their wealth from federal construction projects. The group hired Democratic pollster Pat Caddell to come up with a profile of the ideal presidential candidate for the 1990s. Caddell duly produced a memo describing such a candidate as a political insider who would run against "big government", tout traditional values and adopt a conservative agenda, especially on the military, crime and taxes.

Landow pitched this "new Democrat" presidential profile to Sam Nunn, Chuck Robb and David Boren, all of whom declined the honor. Then Landow approached Al Gore, who pounced eagerly on Caddell's document and the prospect of Landow's millions. Gore used Caddell's road-map as a strategic guide for his 1988 bid.

Landow offered his services to the impoverished Cheyenne-Arapaho tribe, for a mere ten percent of the income from their oil reserves.

A big component of this was a "Southern strategy", requiring the eager Gore to race-bait, with attacks aimed at Jesse Jackson ("we're electing a president, not a preacher") and at Michael Dukakis for lacking "courage" in not attacking Jackson. And, long before Bush, Gore played the Willie Horton card.

Landow, Gore's number one money man, already had a southern strategy operating crisply in his own business affairs. A year earlier, in 1987, Landow's company was charged with discriminating against potential black renters at his apartment complex in suburban Washington. Jackson's campaign did not forget Landow's unending smears and in 1992 Jackson's allies got Landow evicted from chairmanship of the Maryland Democratic party.

Landow nourished a particular enmity towards Gary Hart, the Colorado senator who had launched his own 1988 nomination bid and was running far ahead of Gore and Dukakis. But Hart's hopes crashed in ruins on the poop deck of the good ship Monkey Business when he was caught canoodling with Donna Rice, and Hart's aides believe to this day that it was Landow who leaked Hart's amour to the press.

But the best laid plans and skullduggery still failed to salvage the Gore campaign which expired in New York amid a final ecstasy of Horton-baiting and demented eulogies to the Israeli ultra-hardliners, scripted for him by Marty Peretz and his media advisor David Garth, who had a simultaneous pr contract with the Likud Party.

Landow continued to raise millions on Gore's behalf through the 1992 and 1995 election cycles. The investment paid of handsomely with splendid access for Landow to the administration. He was invited to two of the famous White House coffee klatches. At one of the sessions, an April 12, 1996, gathering in the Map

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Room, Landow brought with him two executives from the National Homebuilders' Association, an outfit noted for its hostility towards the Endangered Species Act.

Later that afternoon Landow wrote a $25,000 check to the Democratic National Committee. The administration expressed its gratitude with Interior Secretary Babbitt's carefully crafted strategy to implement the ESA with a "flexible" approach that would give developers like Landow special exemptions to kill endangered species. Landow and his family gave $600,000 to the two presidential campaigns of '92 and '96.

Few episodes more starkly illustrate the depths to which Team Clinton/Gore was ready to plunge than the affair, in which Landow was up to his neck, of the Cheyenne-Arapaho tribe in Oklahoma.

This deeply impoverished tribe has been fighting for many years to have returned to it 7,500 acres of oil land now under the control of the Department of Interior. The tribe was told that if it gave more than $100,000 to the DNC, the Clinton administration would endeavor to give satisfaction.

The tribe burrowed deep into its rainy-day (i.e. welfare) fund and came up with $107,000. After the election the DNC officials advised the tribe to come to Washington and meet with Landow. Archie Hoffman, an Arapaho Cheyenne tribal leader, has described what then transpired.

Their group showed up at Landow's office in Bethesda and Landow said he would help them in return for a 10 percent cut on all revenues deriving from the recovered lands. He also implored the tribe to hire Peter Knight's law firm.

Let us remind CounterPunch readers that Knight was Al Gore's former chief of staff in the US Senate and campaign manager for Clinton-Gore in 1996, after which duties he returned to his lair at Wunder, Diefendorfer, Cannon and Thelan. Knight's now in big trouble for shaking down clients for contributions to the DNC.

To this day, many of Gary Hart's campaign workers think Landow was behind the Donna Rice fiasco.

Landow imparted to Archie and his fellow Indians the news that Knight's retainer would be a trifling one: $100,000 up front and $10,000 a month until the land deal was consummated. The Cheyenne-Arapaho leaders claim that Landow threatened to use his clout to "make sure those lands are never given back" unless they agreed to his terms.

While the Indians were in Landow' office, the developer invited them to see something "I think you'll appreciate". Thereupon he led them into his private museum of... Indian artifacts! The Arapaho-Cheyenne gazed in fury on items looted from their heritage, including pottery, pipes, medicine bags and moccasins. The piece de resistance in the museum was a magnificent Lakota Sioux war bonnet, crowned with more than 30 bald eagle feathers.

A disgusted Archie Hoffman flew back to the reservation in Concho, Oklahoma and brooded for a while on the war bonnet. Since 1940 it's been a felony to buy, sell or be in possession of bald eagle parts. Over the past decade dozens of native Americans have been arrested for killing bald eagles for ceremonial purposes. Hoffman called the FBI and told the Bureau about Landow's war bonnet. Weeks elapsed with no news from the Bureau. Hoffman next called the law enforcement division of the Fish and Wildlife Service which began to pursue the matter.

Fish and Wildlife investigators contacted Landow and this self-described expert on Indian artifacts told them that he didn't know whether the feathers on his war bonnet were "real" or not. The Fish and Wildlife agents said they would like to examine the war bonnet. Landow refused, angrily accused them of harassment and implied they were in deep trouble for bothering so influential a friend of the high and mighty.

A few weeks later Landow settled the matter by donating the war bonnet to the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming. This didn't satisfy the Fish and Wildlife investigators who tell CounterPunch that they wanted to see justice done. A conviction could have meant two years in prison and a $250,000 fine. But the investigators say they were pulled of the case by "people in Secretary Babbitt's office". ■

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